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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
THREE HUNDRED AND SEVENTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 18 November 1993, at 6.10 p.m.

President:	Mr. JESUS	(Cape Verde)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MÉRIMÉE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. TAYLHARDAT

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The meeting was called to order at 6.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA

FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL SUBMITTED IN PURSUANCE OF PARAGRAPH 19 OF RESOLUTION 814 (1993) AND PARAGRAPH A 5 OF RESOLUTION 865 (1993) (S/26738)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Ethiopia and Somalia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Hassan (Somalia) took a place at the Council table; and Mr. Eteffa (Ethiopia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of paragraph 19 of resolution 814 (1993) and paragraph A 5 of resolution 865 (1993), document S/26738.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/26767, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 18 November 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Eritrea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, which will be issued as document S/26766.

The first speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Ethiopia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ETEFFA (Ethiopia): Let me first of all congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. We have no doubt that with your extensive experience and diplomatic skills the deliberations of the Council will be very fruitful.

We should also like to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg of Brazil, for his effective leadership during the month of October.

We also want to express our deep appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his comprehensive and detailed report (S/26738) of 12 November,

(Mr. Eteffa, Ethiopia)

which will contribute immensely to the alleviation of the problems in Somalia.

We are well aware of the complexity and sensitivity of the situation in Somalia. We have no illusion that a solution is in sight in the immediate future. However, the proposal of His Excellency President Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia, inter alia, to reinitiate the Addis Ababa Agreements and establish a fact-finding mission would greatly facilitate the reconciliation process and eventually lead to the formation of civil society in Somalia. In dealing with the Somali factions, inclusiveness is important, not only as a pragmatic approach, but also because democracy entails the participation of all the people and/or their representatives. It is in this spirit that President Meles Zenawi suggested certain procedures to be followed.

We have no prescriptions for solving the human tragedy in Somalia. Solutions have to be sought collectively by the Somalis themselves with the help of the international community, and we are hopeful that solutions acceptable to all parties concerned will evolve in due course. The present draft resolution and resolution 885 (1993), in the opinion of my delegation, will encourage the wider participation of the Somali people.

In helping Somalis help themselves, the United Nations, through the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), in collaboration with the people of the subregion, could make invaluable contributions and make a difference. As pointed out by President Meles Zenawi, a genuine partnership between the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the countries of the subregion and the United Nations is important to the political process. The

(Mr. Eteffa, Ethiopia)

activities of UNOSOM II should proceed with the explicit understanding of such a partnership. Here it is necessary to learn from past successes as well as failures.

One of the aspects in which UNOSOM II could make substantive contributions is the undertaking of comprehensive disarmament, since this was one of the items in the Addis Ababa Agreements. This would, among other things, involve negotiations, convincing the Somalis and to a certain extent using pressure and even coercion to fulfil the wish of the majority to live in peace. Therefore, it is crucial that UNOSOM II be present and that it have the mandate to take the necessary actions to implement the Addis Ababa Agreements.

The efforts being made in Mogadishu to establish a security committee are commendable and should be vigorously executed, and additional efforts should be made to form similar committees in other areas. This would help consolidate the cease-fire in Mogadishu and elsewhere in Somalia and make a positive contribution to the implementation of the comprehensive disarmament.

Effective implementation of the Security Council resolutions, among other things, would involve a change of attitude, commitment, neutrality and impartiality on the part of the people who are entrusted to implement them. Therefore, the people who implement the Security Council decisions should be very carefully selected.

We are dealing with a tragic situation in which over 300,000 Somalis have already perished, over 1 million are refugees in neighbouring countries and Somalis everywhere have become stateless because Somalia as a State does not exist, as rightly pointed out

(Mr. Eteffa, Ethiopia)

by the Secretary-General and many others at different times. In short, we are dealing with a horrible human tragedy.

The international community and the Somalis themselves have reached the conclusion that this human tragedy can be brought to an end only through negotiations, using different methods of mediation and conflict resolution and all other methods involving human relations. All these methods also entail effective communication, and effective communication is generally hampered by many factors, among them the involvement of the egos of those communicating. The point of this is not to introduce academic discussions, but to appeal to all actors, whether they are Somalis or members of the international community, to keep their egos out of the political process in Somalia. Personal involvements and real or perceived roles should not be allowed to jeopardize the political process or the reconciliation process in Somalia or, for that matter, anywhere else. It would be an act of statesmanship to be involved disinterestedly in the alleviation of a human tragedy, whereas linking the basic issues to our roles may affect the outcome negatively. Any actor in this human drama should be above self-interest or self-aggrandizement.

In this regard, the Somali faction leaders and others should be convinced that the great men of history are not those who win wars but those who make peace. I am saying this because the main issue in Somalia today and our main preoccupation should be peacemaking, and our commitment and our utmost endeavours should be directed to that end. Peacemaking is more cost-effective than peace-keeping or peace enforcement, but it is not cost-free. Negotiations, mediation and the management and resolution of

(Mr. Eteffa, Ethiopia)

conflicts also require financial resources. If the international community is willing to pay a huge sum of money for peace-keeping and peace enforcement, it should be ready to invest a modest amount in peacemaking.

The international intervention on behalf of Somali victims of conflict can be successful only if Somalis come to terms with one another. There is no doubt in our minds that the Somalis in general are appreciative of the international community's passion and compassion and its commitment to alleviating the horrible human tragedy in their country. It is my delegation's conviction and firm belief that the international community's commitment will be sustained until the Somalis are in a position to form a civil society based on democratic principles.

Finally, allow me to thank all the members of the Council for their unwavering commitment to restoring peace and stability in Somalia.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Ethiopia for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. OLHAYE (Djibouti): In his comprehensive and forthright report (S/26738) on the current situation in Somalia, for which we are extremely grateful, the Secretary-General correctly advises us that in addressing the complex situation in Somalia the Council will have to display flexibility and firmness in any decision it takes while renewing the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II). We have come a long way in our involvement there, as the many resolutions we have passed, the energy expended, the funds spent and the lives which have been risked and lost all attest. It has been a learning experience for us as well, for, again as the Secretary-General notes in his report,

> "The international community has had no precedent to guide it in dealing with the tragic situation in Somalia." (S/26738, para. 80).

It goes almost without saying that the actions, the commitment and the sustained level of effort to rectify the situation is setting vital precedents. As much as we are re-establishing Somalia, we are all defining the United Nations. All things considered, and particularly taking into account recent events, we feel that the draft resolution affords us a bit more time to reflect on the most

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

prudent course of action after the withdrawal of a number of key contingents early next year.

The efforts of the United Nations thus far are well highlighted in the Secretary-General's report. They indicate a widespread and comprehensive pattern of achievement in dealing with many of the constraints and problems, from famine relief, homelessness and sickness to banditry and lawlessness. The United Nations has met these challenges, sufficiently so to take us beyond the emergency phase into that of rebuilding and reconstruction. In all of this, we have proceeded with the undoubted support of the vast majority of the Somali people. This is attested to, all over the country, by the many ways in which the Somalis are resuming active participation. Were there an environment of peace and security in Somalia, there is every likelihood that the targets set for the assumption of the reins of government by Somalis, from the district to the national level, could be met, and that the goal of completing the United Nations mission in Somalia by March 1995 would become a reality. But that is our problem - that the opportunity to establish the right environment for peace and security in Somalia has too often eluded us, and too often we have had simply to be content with damage control.

Our previous resolutions show that the problem of the widespread holding of arms was recognized. In fact, some have held that in reality the problem in Somalia was not famine - for there has always been enough food - but the denial of access to food, as a political manoeuvre, by rival clans and warlords, which they were able to do because they possessed arms.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

While we have made some significant headway, clearly it has not been enough. The hope that there would be a voluntary disarmament, cantonment, disbanding and reintegration of the militia into civilian life has not been realized. A pervasive feeling seems to be taking root in some of the clans that others are re-arming in anticipation of an expected United Nations withdrawal some time in 1994. If allowed to continue, this attitude will certainly dash all prospects for peace, development and a national government in the foreseeable future. It can only strike terror in the hearts of the average Somali, who wishes only to be allowed to resume a normal life, free of intimidation, threat and hopelessness.

The unavoidable bottom line is that Somalia must disarm and that the United Nations must be seen to be making a multi-pronged effort to bring this about. The present reported posture of turning a blind eye to the open sale and distribution of weapons is regrettable. It seems we are readily succumbing to the status of "violence monitors". Our presence may be in danger of assuming the appearance of resignation and retreat, of avoiding any activity prior to withdrawal. It is certain that this will present an open invitation to some elements, perhaps threatening the safety, stability and future of Somalia for a long time to come. It could make our previous resolutions simply words on pieces of paper and reduce the positive balance of our combined efforts to near zero.

We support the Secretary-General in his efforts to bring together as wide an array as possible of key groups, including the USC/SNA, to initiate a political dialogue, following the passage of resolution 885 (1993) this week. Those of us in the area -

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

countries, leaders and regional organizations - undoubtedly will assist in every way possible, for the pace and manner of our own destinies are interwoven in many ways with that of Somalia. In this respect, it is pertinent to mention the ongoing diplomatic efforts in the region, led by President Meles Zenaoui of Ethiopia, to assist the United Nations efforts to bring all Somali parties to the negotiating table. When the United Nations has completed its mission, it should be a near impossible task for any individual or group to have the wherewithal to return Somalia to its dark days. Security and government should by then have passed the take-off stage to self-sustaining growth.

Finally, the United Nations must actively and effectively utilize the short periods we have delineated to continue what has been not only the perception but the fact of progress. The United Nations is a group of nations of the world, and we must demonstrate our resolve to assist those in need in the manner, at the level and in the time that we can, so that the United Nations as a whole is always seen to be making a sustained effort. Where we can counsel, offer our good offices, send troops, personnel and material, or assist the funding of the Somalia Trust Fund, we should. We must remove the conditionality in the Secretary-General's statement:

> "if Member States are willing to stay the course." (S/26738, para. 106).

In the final analysis, though, as the resolution underscores, it is the people of Somalia who bear the ultimate responsibility for a viable political process and reconstruction of their country. Somali society, which is extensively fragmented, needs to overcome its lingering ills quickly, before the pervasive international good

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

will and patience begin to show irreversible wear and tear. It is our hope that it will.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): The situation in Somalia is now at a critical stage. As the Secretary-General stated in his last report, it is essential that the international community remain committed to helping the Somalis in their efforts to accelerate the process of political reconciliation and economic and social rehabilitation. My Government supports the efforts of the Somali people to achieve these goals.

The international community owes a debt of gratitude to the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II). That members of the peace-keeping forces as well as a number of civilian aid personnel have been killed or injured while serving in the region is a tragedy which touches all of us. Japan once again calls on all parties to ensure that acts of violence and armed attacks against persons engaged in humanitarian activities cease immediately.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

The ongoing violence demonstrates that disarmament continues to be important for achieving lasting peace and stability throughout Somalia. In this connection Japan is of the view that the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) should try to avoid coercive methods as far as possible, and we urge the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to redouble their efforts to promote political reconciliation and negotiation, in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the countries in the region. I wish to say that I was much encouraged by the statement just made by Ambassador Eteffa of Ethiopia.

Finally, like the Ambassador of Djibouti, I wish to say that while international support is essential, it is the leaders of Somalia and the people of Somalia who bear the ultimate responsibility for establishing peace in their country.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): The draft resolution we are considering is the result of a careful examination of the circumstances in Somalia, particularly as they relate to the work of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II). Let me express our gratitude for the input received in this process from the Secretary-General. His report on the situation in Somalia and on UNOSOM II is an extremely useful instrument that has provided us with crucial elements of judgement and that will certainly continue to be of great help in the coming months as we seek to map out the future presence of the United Nations in Somalia.

We are encouraged by the positive aspects of the situation in Somalia as reflected in the report of the Secretary-General. Above all, we are heartened by the fact that in many areas of the country

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

the most immediate problems related to the humanitarian emergency have, to a large extent, been addressed. It is scarcely necessary to highlight the fact that serious problems remain. Events in Somalia over the past few months have caused deep concern. The Brazilian Government has strongly condemned the outrageous incidents of violence against UNOSOM II forces and against those working with UNOSOM II in Somalia. Those incidents have underscored the urgency of a political solution to the Somali crisis.

As regards the humanitarian situation, we agree with the Secretary-General that the sustained support of the international community will be critical as the efforts of the United Nations and other organizations operating in Somalia move from relief to rehabilitation. In our view, the concept of a continuum from relief to rehabilitation and development applies fully in the case of Somalia. A smooth transition from emergency assistance to development, a transition unencumbered by political obstacles of any kind, is essential to prevent a repetition of the very situation that gave rise to the urgent need for humanitarian relief.

In that connection it is our understanding that paragraph 14 of the draft resolution is meant as an indication of the importance of rehabilitation and reconstruction projects in Somalia within the context of progress towards national reconciliation. The definition of guidelines or priorities for assistance by the international community for rehabilitation and reconstruction clearly does not fall within the competence of the Security Council.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

It is also encouraging that greater attention is now being paid to the need to support and accelerate efforts towards national reconciliation involving all Somali parties. The initiatives taken by the States of the region, including through the Organization of African Unity, are particularly welcome. We support those initiatives, and we are hopeful that they will soon bear fruit.

It is appropriate to stress, as the draft resolution does, the important links between the work of UNOSOM II and the process of national political reconciliation among the Somali parties. As indicated in resolution 865 (1993), supporting the efforts of the Somali people towards national reconciliation constitutes the highest priorities in the activities of UNOSOM II. Besides, the contribution that the United Nations can and must bring to promoting peace and security in Somalia can hardly be understood if it is not placed in a context of vigorous political efforts towards peace by all the Somali parties that have been involved in conflict.

It has been rightly pointed out that the United Nations cannot impose peace in Somalia or anywhere else if the parties involved are not willing to make peace themselves. To them belongs the heavy responsibility of taking the steps that may be necessary to achieve a negotiated solution to their differences. It is appropriate that in that effort they be able to count on the support and assistance of the United Nations. These thoughts are essential components of the traditional and time-tested concept of peace-keeping - that is, of endeavours undertaken to help the parties ensure respect for and consolidation of peace agreements.

In the near future the United Nations will be faced with important decisions concerning the situation in Somalia and the role that is to be played by the Organization in promoting peace

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

and security in that country. This is indicated in the draft resolution, which makes provision for a fundamental review of the mandate of UNOSOM II by early February 1994. The policy options outlined by the Secretary-General in his report, as well as any further recommendation he may wish to make before the Council reconsiders the issue, will no doubt have to be taken into due account. The evolution of the situation on the ground, including the progress achieved on such crucial issues as political reconciliation, disarmament and other matters, will also have a direct bearing on our deliberations. Brazil will be ready to work with other members of the Council with a view to taking the decisions and making the choices that will be required in defining, in a constructive and realistic way, the foundations for an effective and result-oriented presence of the United Nations in Somalia.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/26767.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 886 (1993).

I shall now call upon those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): The United Nations Operation in Somalia is one of the most difficult the

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

Organization has had to confront. Carrying out the mandate this Council established six months ago has required sacrifices by many States, including my own. Some of our people have made the ultimate sacrifice to support the international effort aimed at helping the Somali people escape the catastrophe in which they seemed trapped.

There are those who have voiced the opinion that these sacrifices were too great and that the Organization and its Members could not bear them. Even in the face of escalating losses, the United Nations will not abandon efforts to bring peace and political reconciliation to the people of Somalia. With this vote today the Council demonstrates that it will not abandon Somalia and pledges that it will help the people of this shattered land rebuild their lives and their country.

This resolution also sends a message to the Somali people that the United Nations can only help. The Somali people must show the will and the courage to bring about true national reconciliation. If they are prepared to make this investment in their future, UNOSOM and the international community stand ready to give them every assistance. But if they cannot work together to solve their own problems, they cannot expect the United Nations to do it for them.

The resolution today, therefore, is a reaffirmation and a challenge. It reaffirms the efforts of the community of nations that have already accomplished so much. At the same time, the international community challenges the Somalis to demonstrate that they have the will and the perseverance to restore their country's institutions.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): The resolution just adopted by the Security Council, which extends the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) for six months, is evidence of the ongoing commitment of the international community and of the United Nations to the restoration of political institutions in Somalia. France, which has made an important contribution to UNOSOM, is convinced that the Somali people - and this point has been stressed by the Secretary-General - is in favour of the maintenance of the United Nations presence to support the process of reconciliation and rehabilitation agreed to at the Addis Ababa meetings in January and March.

My delegation wishes to recall that the achievements of that presence over several months are considerable, even if they tend to be eclipsed by the unstable situation in South Mogadishu. The primary purpose of international intervention was to put an end to famine. That humanitarian objective has now been fulfilled. UNOSOM has also facilitated the restoration of a public-health policy and the resumption of agricultural and commercial activities, and it is seeking to establish judicial and police structures conducive to the normal functioning of a civilian society. UNOSOM is also trying to encourage organs of democratic expression. My Government hopes that by the beginning of next year the Transitional National Council of Somalia will have been established and will embody the sovereignty of Somalia, for - and this is something that my delegation wishes to stress once more - the United Nations cannot take the place of the Somali people. The role of the United Nations is to provide assistance, but it is the Somalis themselves who will determine the process of national

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

reconciliation and the restoration of political structures in Somalia.

France hopes that the Somali parties will heed the voice of reason and national interest and will suppress their selfish concerns and devote themselves, in a true spirit of national unity, to the enormous endeavour of rebuilding the country. My delegation hopes that the fourth Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia - to be held in Addis Ababa, beginning on 29 November - which, I hope, will bring together all components of Somali society, will provide an opportunity for political dialogue. France pays a tribute to the efforts, in this regard, of the countries and organizations of the region to help find a settlement to the Somali crisis, and we encourage them to continue their efforts.

My Government commends the work done, under the authority of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, by the UNOSOM team and pays a tribute to those who sacrificed their lives to help the Somali people rebuild their nation.

France has agreed to the renewal of the UNOSOM mandate, in keeping with the recommendations of the Secretary-General. In due course - depending on how the situation in the country evolves - it will study the options he proposes.

Finally, I wish to draw attention to one point: France welcomes the contribution of the United States to UNOSOM - a contribution that has been decisive. However, for reasons of clarity and consistency, and also because this problem may arise in the case of other peace-keeping operations, we should have preferred to see the status of the United States forces vis-à-vis

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

UNOSOM clarified in this resolution. A certain number of formulas were tried, but, in the end, none of them was deemed satisfactory. My delegation regrets that that important element - important by reason of the numerical strength of the force concerned as well as its impact on an operation placed under the authority of the Council - was omitted from the resolution.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Since the adoption of Security Council resolution 837 (1993) the situation in Somalia has been at the centre of the international community's attention. The United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Arab League have made valuable efforts to help the Somali people to extricate themselves from their plight and secure national reconciliation and lasting peace. Encouraging changes have taken place in Somalia, but there are still many unstable elements. There is a long way to go before genuine peace can be achieved in Somalia.

The Chinese delegation has always been in favour of a political settlement of the Somali question. The key to such a settlement lies in widely based reconciliation of all the Somali parties. We are glad to note that the fourth Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia will be held in Addis Ababa at the end of this month. This will provide a good opportunity for all the Somali parties to return to the process of national reconciliation and political settlement. We believe that the current reconciliation efforts are of crucial importance, and their result will be a decisive factor in determining the future mandate and the size of UNOSOM II.

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

The ups and downs in Somalia have shown once again that any problem in a country can be solved only by the people of that country themselves and that the affairs of a region should be settled by the countries and peoples of that region through discussion and consultation. In the case of any dispute or conflict - no matter how complicated and difficult - so long as there is patience, there is hope of its resolution through dialogue and negotiation. The international community can play only a supplementary and facilitating role in the promotion of a final settlement. The overall objective of UNOSOM II should be to promote national reconciliation, and it should fulfil its mandate by relying on the Somali people, using peaceful means.

It is hoped that, in this connection, the positive role of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and of countries in the region will be brought more fully into play and that, with the gradual realization of national reconciliation, UNOSOM II will in the near future become a peace-keeping operation in the traditional sense.

The Addis Ababa Agreements are the basis for the peaceful settlement of the Somali question. The Chinese delegation sincerely hopes that the various Somali parties will put the national interests above everything else and will cooperate with the United Nations, the OAU and UNOSOM II to create the conditions for an early political solution of the Somali question.

For those reasons, the Chinese delegation supports the Secretary-General's recommendations on the extension of the mandate of UNOSOM II and voted in favour of the resolution that has just been adopted.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): The Secretary-General, in his valuable and admirably clear report to the Council, describes a situation in Somalia vastly different from that obtaining this time last year. We share his assessment that the United Nations has come a long way in the process of remedying the massive human disaster of 1992 and in laying the foundations for rebuilding Somalia. The humanitarian situation, above all, has dramatically improved. Clearly, the security situation in some areas remains a matter of concern, but it is important to recognize that in most parts of the country a lot has been achieved.

The United Kingdom pays a tribute to the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative and to the outstanding bravery of the thousands of United Nations troops and civilians and personnel from non-governmental organizations who have worked so hard in such very difficult circumstances in Somalia. It also pays a tribute to the key role played by the United States in coming to the rescue of millions of Somalis at the end of last year. We express our deepest condolences to all those who have suffered losses.

This resolution clearly demonstrates that the international community is determined, if that is at all possible, not to give up on the millions of Somalis who have welcomed and supported the United Nations action. That is why the Security Council has extended the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) for a further six months. But the Somali people need to be clear that we are approaching a crossroads. Without the active cooperation of the Somali people the international community may simply be forced to reconsider its future involvement. So the nature and scale of that involvement will be decided by the Somalis

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

themselves and by the results of their efforts to work together for early political reconciliation. Their future lies in their own hands. As the resolution just adopted makes clear, the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for national reconciliation and the reconstruction of their country. We can help but we cannot do it for them.

In any review of policy towards Somalia it is all too easy to overlook those parts of the country which have not been affected by the violence and anarchy of South Mogadishu but whose need for assistance is very real. But they require every bit as much the sustained attention of the international community. We attach importance to moving ahead with rehabilitation assistance in those regions where security conditions permit and to providing support and resources to the men and women working in the field at this critical juncture.

The disorder which still affects parts of Somalia has an impact beyond its borders. My Government is concerned at the destabilizing effects of cross-border arms flows into neighbouring countries. We are therefore pleased that the resolution we have adopted emphasizes the importance of doing what can be done to protect the security of neighbouring countries. We would like to see the cessation of all cross-border arms transfers in the region.

No later than the beginning of next year the Security Council will have to review the future role of the United Nations in Somalia. Our decisions then will depend crucially on early efforts by all Somalis to demonstrate that they will be able and willing to work together with the international community for the peaceful and stable future of their country which we all seek and to which so many lives and so many resources have already been devoted.

Mr. TAYLHARDAT (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): First, we would like to express our satisfaction with the report presented by the Secretary-General in document S/26738. This is a wide-ranging, comprehensive and balanced document. After referring to the serious situation in which the Somali people find themselves - and it was that situation which led to the Organization's presence in the country - the Secretary-General in his report gives a balanced presentation of the work done by the United Nations in Somalia as it endeavours to rebuild the political, social and material infrastructure of the country. We are happy to note the very positive results that have been achieved. This has considerably lessened the suffering of the Somali people which goes back to the earlier tragic and explosive situation that led to the international community deciding to provide emergency humanitarian assistance and to ensure that the humanitarian work would proceed with this peace-keeping operation, the largest, most complex and most important ever carried out by the United Nations.

We would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and all the personnel of UNOSOM II for their achievements.

In our opinion the resolution just adopted correctly places the future efforts of the United Nations clearly and unequivocally within the framework of the new orientation to be given to United Nations action in Somalia. As the Secretary-General states in his report, the overwhelming majority of the Somali people want the United Nations to continue to support the process of reconciliation agreed upon by their representatives in Addis Ababa in January and March 1993. Hence we believe that it is appropriate to stress, as

(Mr. Taylhardat, Venezuela)

the resolution does, that the fundamental mission of the United Nations in this new stage at which it finds itself, as the mandate is being renewed for an additional six-month period, is primarily to promote stability, rehabilitation and political reconciliation in Somalia. This is clearly the general thrust of the resolution.

We also believe that it is timely and appropriate, as the resolution states, to send to the Somali people a clear and precise message that the international community is prepared to continue and intensify its efforts to help further the process of national reconstruction and to promote the stability, rehabilitation and political reconciliation of the country, recalling at the same time the high priority being given by UNOSOM II to continuing to help the Somali people to promote the process of national reconciliation and establishment of democratic institutions.

We therefore agree with the fundamental approach of this resolution in focusing on and emphasizing the efforts to achieve a political solution involving the Governments of the region, the regional organizations and all the parties, particularly the people and those leaders and organizations wielding influence on the political life of the country and able to contribute to furthering national reconciliation.

Those are the main reasons why my delegation voted in favour of the resolution we have just adopted.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): The United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) is now at a crucial stage. The complexity of the current situation is amply reflected in the excellent report submitted by the Secretary-General. We are carefully studying the three options which have been so lucidly outlined in the report.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

My delegation is most grateful to the Secretary-General for the report and for his dedicated efforts at ameliorating the situation in Somalia. The Secretary-General's Special Representative in Somalia and the brave UNOSOM II personnel have also earned our gratitude for the commitment and determination they have displayed in discharging the mandate assigned to them.

The successes achieved by the United Nations in the humanitarian, economic and social fields in Somalia are indeed impressive. In the bulk of Somalia, civic life is gradually returning to normal. Only a year ago reports of lawlessness and inter-clan warfare in Somalia and images of emaciated and dying Somalis had moved the international community to intervene in order to help a collapsed polity. Today children are going to school, hospitals are functioning, agricultural activity is returning to normal, commerce is picking up, and clean drinking water, which had become a rarity, is again available to a large number of Somalis.

All this has not been achieved without cost to the United Nations, and my delegation deems this to be an appropriate moment to pay tribute to those members of UNOSOM II who have made the supreme sacrifice in the furtherance of humanitarian activity. This includes some of my own countrymen.

Unfortunately, satisfactory results have not been possible in the spheres of disarmament and political reconciliation. Security also remains a problem, particularly in South Mogadishu. The recent rise in incidents of banditry and inter-clan clashes is indeed most disturbing. The responsibility in this regard squarely lies with certain elements in Somalia. No amount of international good will, assistance or commitment can help unless the Somalis

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

themselves demonstrate the political will necessary to put their house in order.

Our Somali brethren have to realize that international help cannot continue indefinitely if progress towards a stable democratic order is not made in their country. Despite the setbacks of the recent past and the sacrifices of the UNOSOM II personnel, for the time being the decision of the Security Council is to continue with the United Nations effort at the existing level. We fully endorse this course of action. However, we need to review this decision early next year in the light of developments over the coming weeks.

Mr. KEATING (New Zealand): New Zealand strongly supports the renewal of the United Nations mandate in Somalia. New Zealand has supported the United Nations in all three phases of its mission. We have contributed personnel first to the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), secondly to the Unified Task Force and thirdly to UNOSOM II.

The United Nations went to Somalia to respond to a desperate human tragedy. While tremendous progress has been made in eliminating starvation and malnutrition, the humanitarian task is not yet complete. In addition, while advances have been made in the other aspects of the mandate of UNOSOM II, namely the promotion of political reconciliation and the establishment of a secure environment, much more remains to be achieved in those areas as well. The United Nations must therefore stay the course and keep faith with the Somali people.

We are particularly pleased that the Security Council has decided, unanimously, to roll over the authority of UNOSOM II for a

(Mr. Keating, New Zealand)

full six-month period, until the end of May 1994. This is important because it demonstrates that it is the United Nations collectively that has this commitment, and that, notwithstanding changes in the composition of UNOSOM II, the Security Council has the will for the operation to continue.

On Tuesday last, the Security Council took an important decision on the investigation of responsibility for attacks against United Nations personnel. We provided for the establishment of an independent commission for that purpose. Today we are renewing our commitment to the mandate of UNOSOM II. Taken together, these actions show the priority the Council puts on national reconciliation, and its willingness to look to Somalia's needs in the long term.

The second point I want to stress - and one which the Security Council makes very clear in today's resolution - is that we are very conscious that over the long term the United Nations cannot impose peace and reconstruction on the Somali people. The extent to which our humanitarian objectives can be met and the revival of Somalia's economic and political structures can be achieved will, in the end, depend on the Somali people themselves. Their participation in this process is essential if the necessary conditions of a secure environment and national reconciliation are to be achieved.

There has to be demonstrable progress towards the goals set out in the Addis Ababa Agreements. There has to be demonstrable progress towards the establishment of political and legal structures. There have to be improvements in communication and negotiation in good faith between the factions. And finally, there

(Mr. Keating, New Zealand)

have to be demonstrable achievements in the process of disarmament and the cantonment of heavy weapons.

Because all these steps must be verifiable, it is critically important that this resolution contains quite specific review provisions.

Finally, I wish to note that the Security Council, in approving this resolution today, is not only extending the term of the mandate of UNOSOM II; it is also maintaining in full force all aspects of that mandate. The mandate gives highest priority to political reconciliation and humanitarian support. But as everyone knows, the mandate also relates to the overall security environment in which those priority goals are to be achieved. It may be that, over time and in the light of political progress, some aspects of the mandate may be able to be changed as the environment becomes more secure. Certainly, that is our very strong hope. But in the meantime we have to be conscious also of the rights and interests of the personnel, both military and civilian, who have gone to Somalia in a spirit of generosity to assist the people of Somalia. Too many of those people have been attacked, and too many of them have been killed. The United Nations has a right and a duty to continue to take all necessary measures to ensure their safety and security.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 886 (1993), by which the Security Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) for an additional period of a little more than six months, until 31 May 1994.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

This important decision demonstrates the unity of thought and action of the international community in the face of the changing situation in Somalia. The resolution reaffirms, on the one hand, that the priority objective of UNOSOM II continues to be to support the efforts of the Somali people to promote the process of national reconciliation and to restore democratic institutions. On the other hand it recognizes that the success of this commitment depends first and foremost on the determination of the Somali people themselves.

The important report of the Secretary-General of 12 November, prepared after his visit to the region, describes United Nations success in improving living standards and partially overcoming the great hardship caused by the internal struggle in Somalia. The seeds of reconstruction have been planted and are beginning to bear fruit.

But United Nations support for the process of national reconstruction in Somalia will yield only short-lived results without the sincere and active cooperation of all Somali parties, including movements and factions. All the parties must demonstrate maturity by showing real determination to overcome differences and commence a dialogue in a climate of tolerance, leading to a political settlement restoring governmental institutions and enabling life in Somalia to return to normal. Otherwise, past confrontation will return, with its negative consequences for the Somali people.

Spain is convinced that the national reconciliation in Somalia, which we all want to see, can be achieved only with significant progress towards the humanitarian, security and

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

political objectives set out in today's and earlier resolutions of the Security Council, specifically resolution 865 (1993), and in the commitments the parties assumed in the Addis Ababa Agreements of January and March of this year.

United Nations participation in Somalia shows that situations such as the present one, which threaten international peace and security, evolve and continually change along with the circumstances on the ground. The United Nations - both the Security Council and the Secretary-General - must therefore show an ability to take quick action and show flexibility in the decision-making process in order to deal successfully with changing situations without straying from the basic goals it has set.

In that connection, we are pleased that the Secretary-General has set out in his report the Organization's basic options in its endeavour to reach its goals, in the light of the events that will be taking place in Somalia in the coming months. The Council must continue to give thought to these options with a view to adopting the necessary decisions in the light of the situation early in 1994.

It is our firm hope that the Somali parties will soon reach agreement on their positions so that the process of national reconciliation can take place, with the support of the international community, including in this effort the United Nations and the regional organizations that will be making their contribution to the peace effort. The fourth Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia, which will soon be held in Addis Ababa, is a good opportunity to join efforts in a common cause.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

In this new stage of the United Nations presence in Somalia, which is beginning with the adoption of this resolution, the delegation of Spain feels it is only right to pay a tribute to the commendable and tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, of his Special Representative and of the entire UNOSOM II personnel, coming from numerous Member States, as well as of the joint force of the United States, towards improving the living standards of the Somali people and facilitating the process of national reconciliation and reconstruction in the country. These efforts, which we publicly commend today, have involved great sacrifices, and we would pay a special tribute to all those who have laid down their lives in the service of this noble cause.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): The international community is faced with serious and unique challenges in Somalia. We are all aware of this unfortunate country's turbulent history in recent times, which has had an impact on the international presence since its deployment there. In the current situation, the renewal of the mandate of UNOSOM II for a period of six months, decided on by resolution 886 (1993), just adopted by the Council, offers a fresh opportunity for continuing political efforts to extricate Somalia and its people from the crisis it has been enduring with such dire effects and for so long. In this endeavour, the highest priority in the United Nations should be assistance to the process of national reconciliation and the establishment of democratic institutions.

We welcome the important progress made throughout most of Somalia in the areas of humanitarian assistance, the restoration of normal conditions and the rebuilding of the country. We are aware

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

of the difficulties involved in attaining the desired degree of political will on the part of all Somali movements and factions to resolve the enormous problems facing the country. To that end, a concerted strategy for the future of UNOSOM II will clearly make an invaluable contribution to Somalia.

It should be added that the leaders of all Somali parties bear a special responsibility for the future development of the situation in their country. In this process, once we have seen the situation in Somalia after 31 March 1994, a thorough review of the mandate of UNOSOM II will certainly be essential.

Hungary voted in favour of this resolution as an indication of our support for the efforts of our world Organization to overcome these difficulties and to provide assistance in the revival of Somalia and in the restoration of security and stability in the Horn of Africa.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian Federation consistently supports the efforts of the international community to provide humanitarian assistance to the Somali people in the speedy stabilization of the situation and the resumption of normal life in Somalia.

We note with satisfaction the positive changes that are occurring in that country as a result of the United Nations activities and those of States Members of the United Nations, as well as those of a number of international and non-governmental organizations. Clearly, there has been significant success in fighting starvation there and in reducing the number of the hungry. Significant progress has been made in public health, education and agriculture. Positive changes are occurring in the political area

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

too. A process is under way for creating district and regional councils. Efforts are being undertaken to establish dialogue between the Somali parties in order to ensure compliance with the cease-fire and disarmament agreements reached in Addis Ababa at the beginning of this year.

At the same time, we agree with the conclusion in the Secretary-General's report (S/26738) that much remains to be done to enable Somali society to stand firmly on its feet. In particular, the report quite rightly emphasizes that unless all Somali groups are disarmed, a lasting peace and lasting stability will be impossible for that country.

We decisively condemn the ongoing acts of violence and armed attack against those participating in the humanitarian assistance and peace-keeping efforts, and we express condolences to the families of the military and humanitarian personnel of a number of countries that have been killed while nobly serving the cause in Somalia.

There is no doubt that the speedy settlement of the conflict on a lasting and reliable basis would be promoted by activating the political aspects of the United Nations operation. As is stated in the resolution adopted by the Security Council, the highest priority of UNOSOM II continues to be to support the efforts of the Somali people themselves in promoting the process of national reconciliation and the establishment of democratic institutions. In this connection, we commend the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his Special Representative and the entire personnel of UNOSOM II for their achievements in improving the living conditions

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

of the Somali people and promoting the process of finding a political settlement and national reconciliation.

In our view, a significant contribution to the process of finding a political settlement must be made by the African countries and other interested countries. As expressed in this resolution, we attach great importance to the Security Council's support for the ongoing diplomatic efforts being made by States Members of the United Nations and the regional organizations to develop dialogue between all Somali parties.

The Russian Federation is prepared, together with the entire international community, to foster efforts to bring about a speedy restoration of peace and stability in that long-suffering country.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Cape Verde.

My delegation has always followed the situation in Somalia with deep concern. The situation of internal chaos, which has led to the destruction of the administrative and economic structure of that country and resulted in hundreds of thousands of victims, is undoubtedly one of the most tragic situations provoked by internal warfare in modern times.

The prompt intervention of the United Nations and the commendable work of the Unified Task Force brought about a positive change in the situation, which was followed by the deployment of UNOSOM II to assist the Somali people in achieving political reconciliation and the rehabilitation of that country.

The United Nations assistance to Somalia through UNOSOM II was seen as a major event, not only from the point of view of the important mandate entrusted to it, but also because this operation

(The President)

was seen as playing a defining role for the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping operations in the post-cold-war era. Unfortunately, the latest developments in Somalia, which have resulted in repeated attacks against UNOSOM personnel, have created difficulties in the implementation of UNOSOM's mandate.

We should like to reiterate our strong condemnation of such attacks, and reaffirm our position that all parties in the conflict in Somalia should respect the safety of UNOSOM's personnel.

We are very grateful to all those countries that have provided troops for UNOSOM activities for having come to the assistance of the Somali people at a critical juncture in their history.

Although much remains to be done, we recognize that the overall situation in Somalia has improved substantially, and for that we are thankful to the international community for its cooperation and to the Secretary-General for his efforts in assisting in the national reconciliation and in the rehabilitation of Somalia. We urge all parties, factions and movements in Somalia to cooperate fully with the United Nations in order to attain this goal.

There can be no peace and stability in the country unless there is the political will to achieve it on the part of those involved. The United Nations can only assist. A continuation of the armed conflict will not bring lasting peace to Somalia, and can only aggravate the situation and add to the suffering of the Somali people, which has already lasted too long.

We are glad to note that the international community will continue to assist the peaceful efforts for national reconciliation in Somalia, as confirmed by the resolution just adopted. In this

(The President)

context, we welcome the contributions of countries from the region, especially from those neighbouring Somalia, towards achieving political stability and national reconciliation in Somalia, in coordination with the United Nations.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.